595 The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

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As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848] Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

858 595 Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

3. Obstacles to Marriage

582 1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

837 It may also happen that the accomplice marries the mother of his child. A complaisant husband, or one who, knowing that his wife is unfaithful, keeps her in spite of all, [30] is the object of ridicule by his neighbors and friends, who do not hesitate to call him inganzwa.

837 586 Among the Bahutu, the adulterous wife is beaten by her husband and sent back to her family. If there are no children from the marriage the husband will claim the dowry paid to the wife's parents.

837 Among the Batwa, adultery is hardly important. If a wife is unfaithful her husband forgives her, and if she is pregnant he considers the child his own.

8. Extramarital Relations

836 684 Sexual relations have always been strictly forbidden to young Batutsi and Bahutu girls. Violation of this interdiction would bring great misfortune to the families, says the voice of the people. In the past, pregnant girls (ikinyandaro) (1) were often even killed with their

1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

children, or else they were led beyond the froniters of Ruanda to a desert island in Lake Kivu where they died of hunger, unless the Banyabungo came to their rescue. Sometimes they were led to Urundi where they had to remain until they gave birth. The child was killed or abandoned to the Barundi.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

Nevertheless, the young nobles do not deprive themselves of having sexual relations with the abagaragu girls placed with their fathers as servants. On the other hand, the Mututsi young man caught with a girl of his own caste was punished in the past in the same way as the accomplice of a married woman. [31]

837 [574] The great chiefs who possess concubines (insholeke) put them at the disposal of their visiting friends and relatives.

Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to
●896 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No: 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

582 There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage. Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

582 563 Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the 836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

837 684 The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
586 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

574 837 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Ruasa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
IV. Ego's generation		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[18]

Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old widower frequently lived alone.

The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[18] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Mfumumama* (child of mother).

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This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

For husband and wife, sex was not only that pleasurable activity in which tensions are released, but it was also linked with feelings of affection and sympathy. Moreover, as some cases of prohibition and obligation make it clear, it was a means of participating in collective feelings and of relating oneself to natural processes and rhythms. 831

For men, marriage was not the only socially approved means of obtaining sexual gratification. Before marriage young Tutsi were often given Hutu temporary concubines, wives or daughters of their father's clients. Moreover, they, as well as young Hutu, had privileged partners: married cross-cousins, brothers', and parallel cousins' wives. If they had affairs with unrelated women or even related or unrelated girls, the blame and the risk were for the latter more than for themselves. But as these affairs were occasional and had to be kept secret, marriage brought to men stability, continuity, and quietness in their sexual life. Homosexuality was widespread among Tutsi and Hutu young men. For girls, any heterosexual activity before marriage was strictly prohibited and severely sanctioned. After marriage, their sexual needs could be satisfied not only with their husbands but with their privileged partners. 836 [838]

Cohabitation was an obligation for each spouse. Refusal over a certain time—one, two or three weeks according to different informants—was a cause of temporary separation or even of divorce (of course this does not refer to a refusal based on culturally accepted reasons such as illness or menstruation). Frequency of intercourse is said to have been up to three times a day for Tutsi when they were newly married, then once a day for young people, and about once every other day later on. Hutu accounts suggest that the average frequency was not as high in their group (once a day for newly married, every other day for young people, and twice or once a week later on). The difference was attributed to the more leisurely life of Tutsi. 'They were not tired by work in the fields.' Women were said to be more eager than men but I was told by some informants that men thought this 'because they never refused intercourse'. Women, however, had to behave in a restrained way and to leave the initiative to men. It was very improper for a wife to manifest pleasure or to be other than purely passive during love-play and intercourse. Both partners sat or lay on their sides. Coitus with the woman lying on her back 833 [586]